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Fiftieth Anniversary Year

A NO-CONFIDENCE AMENDMENT
HENRY S. REUSS

GEORGE ORWELL AND THE AMERICAN CHARACTER
KATHARINE BYRNE

NADEZHDA MANDELSTAM'S MEMOIR, OSIP'S POETRY
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GROPERS & SLICKSTERS
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NEWS & VIEWS

Vatican 'Secrets'

The Times of London sent shockwaves through the Vatican when last month it published extensive excerpts of a "Confidential Document" sent to bishops throughout the world, giving instructions and exhortations on the posture to be taken towards the UN's World Population Year. Existence of the document had been known in Rome for some weeks prior to *The Times'* revelations, but the document had not even been circulated widely as yet among the audience for which it was intended. Two British bishops hastily consulted by *The Tablet*, Catholic weekly journal, were unaware of the document's contents.

The document claimed front-page treatment in *The Times*, under the headline "The Vatican Widens Its Birth Control Campaign." Summarizing the document, *The Times* said:

". . . it urges the mobilization of all legitimate forms of pressure on governments and international agencies in order to have Catholic teaching on birth control spread as far as possible and accepted as widely as possible. This teaching, the document states, applies to all mankind and not just to the Catholic faithful. One important section repudiates attempts by Catholic individuals or bodies to deviate from the official teaching handed down in the 1968 papal encyclical *Humanae Vitae* which renewed the absolute ban on artificial contraception after some years of uncertainty. This is now beyond question, the document declares."

On another page, the paper's religious correspondent commented: "Few Roman Catholic hierarchies are likely to welcome with enthusiasm the Vatican's call for a campaign against contraception as the Roman Catholic Church's contribution to the World Population Year. As far as it is possible to tell, most bishops will not want to stir up this issue. Unprompted from Rome, the national leaders of the Roman Catholic Church have been taking a quiet and conciliatory tone in the few public utterances they have made on the subject in the past year or two . . . The most recent was the 'pastoral directive' issued last month by the Roman Catholic bishops of South Africa . . . they say that Christians should share the general concern about population growth and, like the state, should consider means of restricting that growth. State schemes of family planning should not therefore be rejected, but could be approved in so far as they employ means sanctioned by the Christian moral code and applied by force of conscience and not by the power of the State. Roman Catholic medical personnel and hospital staff may advise on methods of birth control. Catholic institutions may make available appropriate information regarding population trends and family planning 'so long as the unalienable rights of married couples to reach the final decision are respected.'"

Because of limitations of space, *The Times* did not print the complete Vatican document dealing with World Population Year. *The Tablet*, however, is seeing to that. Acting on the premise that *The Times'* disclosures placed the document in the public domain, *The Tablet* laid hold of a text and is presently publishing it in three weekly installments.

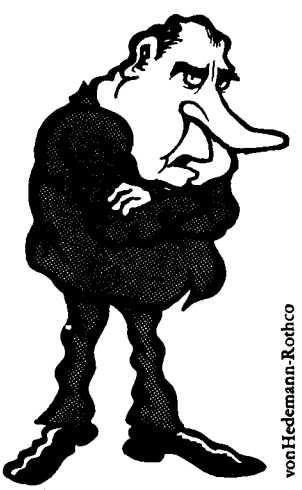
The Vatican, meanwhile, has acted to shut off "leaks" such as that to *The Times* and now *The Tablet*. A three-page directive recently made public imposes strictest secrecy on "all those who have culpably gained knowledge of documents or questions protected by pontifical secrecy, or who, having gained knowledge without guilt, know with certainty that they are still covered by pontifical secrecy."

The new rules involve sanctions "commensurate with the offense and the damage it has caused." There was no elaboration.

The 20-Cent Daily

That 15-cent daily newspaper is heading the way of the two-cent extra: to oblivion. The *New York Post* leaped a nickel to 20 cents on March 25; the *Wall Street Journal*, on April 1. The *New York Times* is holding the line at 15 cents, but the only question is for how long. The Sunday *Times* jumped from 50 to 60 cents within a 50-mile radius of New York City in February, and from 75 to 90 cents elsewhere, but the daily remained at 15 cents in the 50-mile area. It was speculated then that the *Times* was merely waiting for someone to run interference for it through the 20-cent-daily barrier. It has that now in the *Post* and the *Journal*.

The reasons for the increases are by now familiar: "sharp increases in the cost of wages, newsprint, ink and other supplies and services," including, of course, escalating postage rates for those issues traveling through the mails.



I know what I meant to say, I said what I knew to do, I did what I said I meant, I meant what I know I said, and I knew nothing!

It's a story duplicated in Milwaukee, Miami, Chicago and Indianapolis, all of which have seen newspaper prices rise within recent weeks, although not yet to 20 cents. But they'll get there one day, and for the same reasons that the *Post* and the *Journal* have had to go to 20 cents. Cost lags between New York and the rest of the country merely make it a matter of later rather than sooner.

'Informations' Appeals

The intellectual Parisian journal *Informations Catholiques Internationales* is experiencing publishing problems not unknown to the American Catholic press.

Informations has run 400,000 francs ($80,000) in the red the last two years; circulation has dropped from 31,633 in March, 1972, to 28,483; paper costs have shot up 30 percent (also ink and postage rates); and an expensive mail appeal for new readers has brought less than a one-percent return.

Informations needs several thousand additional subscribers in order to stay afloat, and is appealing now to individual readers: save *Informations* by finding one other additional subscriber to the journal. (Foreign subscriptions are 60 francs, or $12; mail to 163, bd Malesherbes, 75017, Paris.)

Odds and Ends

—Don't fret unduly over how Father Flanagan's Boys Town is doing these days. A recent financial report shows a net worth of $226,662,-709.77, an increase of $8.9 million over a year ago.

—From the early-bird *New York Times* for March 15: "Cardinal Coke has been seeking a leasing arrangement for the properties since the decision in 1971 to consolidate and modernize its headquarters in a new building, according to Monsigron z zz zz z"

Sleepily . . .

JOHN DEEDY

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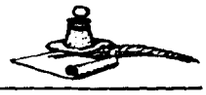
CORRESPONDENCE



Homosexual Taboos

Sunnyvale, Calif.

To the Editors: As a "straight" family therapist who has worked with many gay clients, I want to applaud Father Gregory Baum's article, "Catholic Homosexuals" [Feb. 15] and *Commonweal* for publishing it.

My own professional practice, both in a Catholic social agency and private, offers much support for Father Baum's arguments. Homosexuals' emotional problems are those of any human being—compounded by our society's oppression. Homosexuals' relationships develop the same interactional patterns and problems as those of heterosexual couples.

Psychotherapy oriented toward growth and what Father Baum so well describes as the clients' right "to say yes to themselves" must be open to the homosexual "yes" to be honest and valuable.

Thanks to Dignity and Father Baum.

JOSEPHINE A. JACKSON, M.S.W

Bellingham, Wash.

To the Editor: For a long time we have followed and admired the thinking of Gregory Baum. This time we were appalled at his recent polemic, "Catholic Homosexuals," in your magazine [Feb. 15]. His hypothesis that the suffering of the homosexual is due to our society's historical and collective position that homosexual behavior is not normative, was never discussed nor proven. His suggestion that we should perhaps remove the taboo on homosexual relationships which are characterized by mutuality seems extremely premature. Baum is irresponsibly poking around at a taboo, not fully aware of the possible implications and results.

One does not need to be a wise man to realize that our society is in grave straits. Our emphasis on rights and freedoms of the individual has resulted in our neglect of the individual's responsibilities. Our marriages disinte-

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WATERGATE'S NEW DIMENSION

Secretary of State Kissinger is back from Moscow without the "conceptual breakthrough" he expected with the Soviets on control of nuclear weapons, but, unfortunately, with some unmistakable evidence that Watergate has crossed the ocean and now become a factor in the policies of nations dealing with the United States. Earlier there had been reason to speculate that Watergate had begun to creep into the political considerations of foreign nations, including members of the European Economic Community. But the signs were inconclusive. No longer, however. Watergate has so obviously intruded itself abroad that Secretary of Defense Schlesinger was forced to use a press conference to state that President Nixon "would do nothing to compromise national security in the long run, irrespective of any political disputes that exist within the United States."

By historical standards, Schlesinger's seems a gratuitous assurance, and a downright insulting one to an incumbent President. If anything should be a given in the United States, it is trust of the President to act in the best interests of the country and certainly not to compromise the nation out of personal interests of his own. That the given had to be articulated demonstrates the sorry pass to which the country has come.

It is sorrier yet, because the reassurance is not so unnecessary as might at first be implied. Nixon is quite capable of the most cynical deeds that can be suspicioned of a politician. Throughout his political career he has put personal considerations first, and there is little reason to believe that the practices of a lifetime would be dislodged when his political survival is at stake. Furthermore concern that he might bargain short on critical international issues is hardly preposterous when the case can be posited that the interim agreement on offensive nuclear weapons, reached during Nixon's Moscow trip of 1972, reflected his reelection interests. If then, why not more so now when his stakes are infinitely higher? Presumably, Nixon is not going to scuttle detente, a boast of his foreign policy. He knows shrewdly that an arms pact, dressed up and loudly trumpeted, could go far towards defusing impeachment action, and so has timed a return visit to Moscow for June, when it is likely that proceedings will be coming to a head in Congress. He will be desperate for dramatic effect—which, of course, is the ultimate worry. He could negotiate short by inadvertence as well as through cynicism.

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The dilemma in all of this for the rest of us is that it is absolutely vital that an accord be reached in the arms area under negotiation: the limiting of multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles, MIRVs. Without a pact soon—one that is mutually restricting and unadulterated in any way—the arms race will have settled onto the most frightening plateaus. Whether a MIRV accord, solid and duly documented, helped save Nixon's political skin is a question apart. One would hope our Congressmen and Senators would appreciate that the signing of a paper in Moscow, however much welcomed, did not expunge the "high crimes and misdemeanors" on which they are to pass judgment.

A last point: it might be argued that a weakened U.S. diplomatic posture and some generous flexibility in nuclear arms negotiations is not necessarily the worst of possibilities. Maybe sometimes, but not in this instance, for there is no indication that Russia is of a mind to match with concessions of its own those into which the U.S. might be edged by Watergate vulnerability or slip into through Nixon opportunism. The prospects are negative, and can only remain so until Nixon is gone.

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PRIESTS' COUNCILS

GROUNDS FOR HOPE

During the week of March 18, some 300 delegates, representing 130 councils of priests throughout the country, met in San Francisco for the seventh annual convention of the National Federation of Priests' Councils. This year's theme, "Priests/USA—A Reason for Hope," was an appropriate one for today, and symbolically linked the 1974 meeting to the organization's beginnings.

It was during the tragic week in April, 1968 when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was killed that the National Federation of Priests' Councils was established in a motel near Chicago's O'Hare airport. Few of us can remember in detail the turbulence abroad in the Church in 1968, but we know it was a time of deep concern, doubt, growing polarization, broken dreams—a time of pervasive frustration and unfulfilled promises in both the Church and in the world.

Yet, it was precisely at this time that one of the most courageous ventures in the American Church was launched. The small, dedicated group of priests who began the NFPC had no model from which to work. But they had vision, integrity, hope. They set up a structure for a national organization of priests which has not been substantially altered since.

It works, and the accomplishments the NFPC listed at the seventh annual meeting are testimony to how well it works. They included efforts with the disenfranchised —in prison reform, with the Farm Workers, the Farah strikers; in peace education—the World Without War program, and amnesty education. It was the NFPC that established the National Catholic Coalition for Responsible Investments, the National Association of Church Personnel Administrators, and did the pioneer work on continuing education programs for the clergy, the selection of bishops, and research into new areas of ministry.

As someone who attended the first NFPC convention, it was good to see that the original spirit of sensitive concern prevailed. This year's theme seemed incarnated in the organization itself. In a country searching for honesty, truth and leadership, a growing organization of priests intelligently grappling with crucial issues in the American Church and society is, indeed, a sign of hope.

Despite initial caution and outright opposition in several dioceses, the hierarchy of the United States has given constant encouragement and support to the NFPC, primarily through the responsibility and the trust afforded individual senates of priests. Yet the senates in some of the largest archdioceses in the U.S.—e.g. Philadelphia, St. Louis, Chicago—are not yet affiliated with the NFPC.

While the present president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops has yet to meet with Father Reid Mayo, the elected president of NFPC, and Father Mayo has not been given "faculties" in the Archdiocese of Chicago in which he now resides, it was most gratifying for the assembled delegates to hear words of warm welcome and supportive appreciation from the Archbishop of San Francisco, Joseph McGucken.

Delegates welcomed also the message of Archbishop Jean Jadot, the Apostolic Delegate to the U.S., not so much for its substance as for its generous and open tone as he congratulated the priests for their efforts in behalf of the total Church and their work to "pool knowledge and talents, to think and work together and to strengthen each other." It was the first time that an Apostolic Delegate had publicly recognized the existence of the NFPC.

John Cardinal Carberry of St. Louis once told me that the NFPC must have been put together by professional outside organizers for it was too well structured for the priests themselves to have done it. Those "professional outside organizers" must have been as elusive

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as the party erasing the Watergate tapes, for nobody ever saw them, talked to them, sought or received any advice from them. The San Francisco convention once again demonstrated that the priests of the U.S. are well able to conduct their affairs in a professional manner with a tight agenda and parliamentary law observed, with an evidenced respect for the opinions of each delegate, with all sessions public and debate and discussion without timidity or rancor. The priests of the USA are a reason for hope if this convention is any indication.

These delegates, unlike 1968, were no longer going it alone. Invited attendees included the presidents of the Canon Law Society, the Leadership Conference of Women Religious, the National Assembly of Women Religious, Serra International, and the director of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. Several bishops were in attendance, and particularly welcome was the presence and supportive address of Bishop Thomas Grady, episcopal chairman of the NCCB Committee on Priestly Life and Ministry. It was obvious that the priests had come into their own as a professional group, and they were now striving to be facilitators of collaboration and reconciliation in their dioceses, with other national Catholic organizations, and with the rest of the Church in the U.S.

The average age of the delegates (48 years) was higher this year than in 1968. The delegates were probably more representative of the total clergy of the country, but still demonstrated their sense of realism as well as their experience as they approached the problems of the Church. There is a new feeling of self-worth among clergy which has been gradually emerging after the past difficult decade.

While their dialogue and debate on resolutions concerning many national issues was intense—amnesty, ministry to homosexuals, disarmament, religious education, etc.—these were not men bent on being destructive of the unity of the Church. They are dedicated to working within "the system." This made them no different from those preceding them as NFPC delegates at former conventions. But back in 1968, the idea of a "priests' organization" was so new that persons who never fully believed in the implications of collegiality stemming from Vatican II suspected any organization not under the total control of the hierarchy to be somehow subversive and disloyal.

Can NFPC be true to its original purposes of improving communications among priests from all over the country and giving them a representative voice in matters of concern to the Church and to the nation? Can the NFPC maintain a vigorous program which at the same time serves the interests of the American clergy and the needs of their people, while keeping a healthy and respectful tension with the National Conference of Catholic Bishops? These are questions which will test NFPC leadership as the organization grows and matures.

Father Mayo, of Burlington, Vt., was elected by acclamation to his first full term as president (he filled the vacancy left open in January, 1973, by the resignation of Frank Bonnike). In his lengthy report on the State of the Federation, he enumerated the successful efforts of the past year, then set out a worthy and far-reaching list of unfinished business for the several committees of the Federation and the priests' senates to pursue during the coming year. He asked them to continue to stand on the side of the disenfranchised and work for the dignity of all Americans, particularly the blacks, the Indians and the Farm Workers; to make collegiality a reality in their work with sisters' councils, their bishops and diocesan pastoral councils; to maintain and further constructive collaborative efforts with all other organizations; to strengthen with better programs the provincial councils of priests.

The report was, in a true sense, a theological document. It manifested the growing involvement of the Federation in the suffering of peoples and in the collaborative efforts to assist in the resolution of questions affecting the poor. This emphasis indicated the wisdom of establishing a Commission on Justice and Peace within the Federation, headed by long-time social action advocate, Father Eugene Boyle of the Archdiocese of San Francisco.

The convention had many moments which will not be forgotten: the affectionate embrace by Cesar Chavez of Msgr. George Higgins of the USCC, one of the fiercest and most able of the defenders of the rights of the Farm Workers . . . the inspiring words of Father Vincent Dwyer, the Trappist, who pleaded with the priests to carry home a message of affirmation and support for their fellow clergy . . . the standing ovation given Chavez as he concluded his remarks by saying, "From the anguish of growing pains and from the confusion of turbulent change, the Catholic priest is emerging ever more as a leader of men, a man of God. For I ask you, what else is a priest but an announcer of Good News, a celebrator of life, a man who recognizes the beginnings of hope and who helps nurture that initial mustard seed into the full blossom of community?"

The distinguished Church historian, Dr. David O'Brien of Holy Cross College, summed up the efforts of the priests these four days when he concluded his scholarly address: "We, laity, clergy, religious, together, trying to learn not only how to find signs of hope, but learning from one another how to be signs of hope—that, I think, is probably the most hopeful thing around."

The National Federation of Priests' Councils and the priest-delegates in San Francisco were signs of hope.

JOHN J. EGAN

(Msgr. John J. Egan is a priest of the Archdiocese of Chicago and chairman of the Catholic Committee on Urban Ministry, University of Notre Dame.)

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WHENCE THE NEW CONSERVATIVES?

PETER STEINFELS

WHERE WILL the new conservatives go? That is one of the more interesting, and more significant, questions for the making of social policy in the next several years.

By the new conservatives I mean those intellectual leaders and their followers who decided, in the face of the turmoil of the late '60s, that the number one problem for the nation was not racism, poverty, or a runaway foreign policy, but the liberal and radical theories and movements which had emerged to explain and alter these conditions. The new conservatives thus embarked on a sort of scorched earth campaign to lay low all the errors which they imagined had produced what James Q. Wilson more recently called the "Sick Sixties." The main organs for this campaign were *Commentary* and *The Public Interest*, excellent if somewhat predictable journals; and, although Michael Novak might not have the new conservatives in mind when he writes, with his normal precision, of "our Lords Spiritual of Opinion," this group was nonetheless quite well-connected to various publications, foundation money, and government officialdom—and was correspondingly influential.

The new conservatives have always been a curious group. They included Nathan Glazer, who described himself as a "mild conservative" but (somewhat halfheartedly) supported McGovern; Norman Podhoretz, who described himself as a socialist but (quietly) supported Nixon; and Irving Kristol, who described himself as neither conservative nor liberal but (outspokenly) supported the President.

Three things have affected the position of the new conservatives. First, the student Left, the black power movement, and other objects of their animosity were symbolically buried by the McGovern defeat. (They had probably been in decline even before the new conservatives, charging through an opened door, launched their attack.) To outsiders the fixation on such phantom enemies must necessarily have grown less and less credible, and one might suppose that to the new conservatives themselves it must ultimately have become a bit boring.

Second, the frankly reactionary social policy of the second Administration of Richard Nixon, to whom certain new conservatives like Kristol and Moynihan had hitched their stars, seems to have jogged at least some of these individuals into a reassessment of their priorities. And third, what the second Nixon Administration's budget cuts began, Watergate completed: any spiritual connection with such an Administration was now an extreme embarrassment to the new conservatives.

So what now? One novel development has taken place in the realm of theory. In a monograph for the National Commission on Youth, Princeton demographer Norman B. Ryder pointed out that the 1960s witnessed the "coming of age" of the postwar baby boom; never before in the century had American society been forced to accommodate such a cohort of young people—an "invading army," to which could be attributed many of the social tensions surrounding crime, drug use, riots, student rebellion, youth unemployment, anti-war agitation, and the explosion of "youth culture." Now, however, the "invasion" has passed. Daniel Moynihan and James Q. Wilson quickly popularized Ryder's findings as a general explanation of recent events; and the theory echoed through the media.

Whatever the merits of this theory (and they seem to be as yet unestablished), its swift retailing suggests that it had some particular attraction for the new conservatives at this moment in their political career: indeed, it provided a "neutral" explanation for the 1960s. It backed away from blaming the intellectual "crisis-mongers" for that era's troubles; yet it did not point to major failings of the society either. What went wrong was almost in the category of an "act of God"—a flood, hailstorm, a landslide, once devastating but now past. We can face the future with a clean slate.

Another sign of the times is the recent special issue of *The Public Interest* (supported by the Ford Foundation) on "The Great Society." The new conservatives, it should be noted, never clearly disavowed the Great Society programs as a whole. The bulk of their commentary, however, was directed to a critique of major elements in those programs, and of the groups and policies which were identified with them. The recent issue of *The Public Interest* is significant, then, not only for the valuable analyses it provides of particular Great Society undertakings, but as a mildly benevolent contemplation of the past. "The record of the Great Society is one of successes mixed with failures. . . . In other words, it turned out about as any sensible person should have expected." Ho-hum.

If the new conservatives are thus reoccupying middle ground, in what direction will they move next? In particular, what political vehicle will they find to replace the Administration which has just been shot from beneath them? One possibility lies in the Presidential ambitions of Nelson Rockefeller. Kristol, Moynihan and Glazer are all toiling for Rockefeller's Commission on Critical Choices, disposing of impressive sums to obtain the best (mildly conservative) social analysis money can buy. Whether the new conservatives will stick with Rocky or merely use his fortune to write a platform for Senator Jackson, one can be sure they are shrewdly preparing for 1976. The important question remains: what positive program will they offer, beyond their fading quarrel with the '60s?

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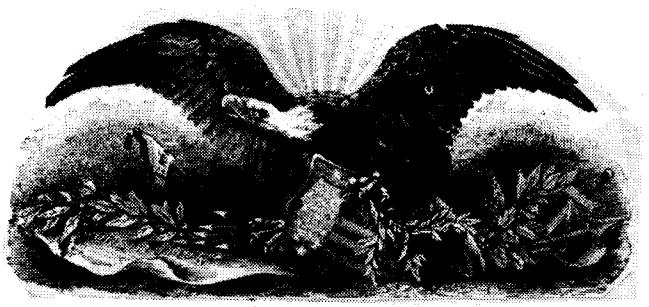
A NO-CONFIDENCE AMENDMENT

HENRY S. REUSS



. . . followed by a general election

How can the United States be governed when the President is deemed to have lost the confidence of the Congress and the public, but refuses to step aside for the good of the country? A possible answer, as I have suggested to my colleagues in Congress, is a Constitutional amendment providing for a new Presidential election whenever each house of Congress, by an extraordinary three-fifths majority, votes "no-confidence" in the incumbent.

The purpose would not be merely to remove from office an unpopular President. Instead, it would offer the people of the country—the voters—a chance to restate their mandate by which the President was elected. The incumbent could, if he and his party wished, run again in the special election for a new term. If the Congress, in voting no confidence, had misread the will of the people, the voters would set things straight by renewing their own confidence in the President, who then could resume governing with a much stronger and much clearer mandate from the people. If they wished, they could retaliate against the legislators at an election to be held at the same date of, or reasonably close to, the Presidential election.

If, however, the voters as well as the Congress had lost faith in the incumbent, a new President would be elected, and the country could get back on course with new leadership. And—most importantly—this "course correction" could be made quickly, and fully within the time-tested electoral process, rather than through the cumbersome, traumatic impeachment process which has always been available to us, but has only once been used against a chief executive.

HENRY S. REUSS *is Congressman from the 5th District, Wisconsin.*

My proposed amendment (House Joint Resolution 903) is not aimed at President Nixon, though I wish we had it now. There is not time for Congress and the states to approve an amendment that could be implemented before Mr. Nixon completes his second term.

Public opinion polls are the least of the President's worries, of course. But the catastrophic plunge in President Nixon's approval-rating symbolizes the demise of his ability to govern with the full effectiveness that modern times demand. Yet the people draw back from the trauma of impeachment, with its vague requirements and Draconian penalty. In the absence of a viable alternative, they prefer a crippled executive to the dimly perceived evils they fear lurking throughout the impeachment process. Especially is this true in the South, where the very word evokes memories of the regional bias in the 1868 impeachment of Andrew Johnson.

The opinion polls show a similar decline in public appreciation of Congress as an institution, and a decline in esteem for the individual Congressman. The public sees us, 535 strong, unable to enter upon any coherent policy, unable to move the Administration upon a consistent policy designed to lead us out of our current troubles.

Of course Congress can and must do more than it has been doing. But it is to the Executive that the country must look for leadership, for execution of legislative policies, for planning and administration of the laws.

Under our present constitutional structure, the only way we can give them that kind of Executive is by the drastic remedy of impeaching the incumbent. As Lord Bryce said, the remedy of impeachment "is so heavy it is unfit for ordinary use." But inability to lead, loss of moral leadership, presiding over an Administration in

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shambles, possessing an aptitude to choose the wrong aides and subordinates—all these and many other faults are hardly impeachable offenses. If it is not shown that Presidential complicity in wrongdoing—whether indictable offenses or not—exists, impeachment is doubtful indeed.

And the Presidency will stumble on. Things will grow worse. Congress can do a lot, but it cannot shoulder the burden alone. Therefore, it seems clear that the necessity exists to develop an alternative method of removing the President—one that lets the people make the ultimate decision.

A New Judgment

A parliamentary system has that alternative, of course. When the government loses the confidence of the people and of the legislature, it falls, and recourse is had to a new judgment of the people.

In *The Federalist,* Hamilton described the ideal of constitutional government—the idea of a constitution as a contrivance which not only empowers but confines government. "In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men," he said, "the greatest difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself. A dependence on the people is, no doubt, the primary control on government; but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions."

Among the auxiliary precautions is, of course, impeachment. But the Framers also structured the powers conferred in the Constitution to include an intricate system of checks and balances. Impeachment is so frightful a remedy as not to be readily invoked.

Hamilton's "dependence on the people" as "the primary control on government" argues for a mechanism by which vigor and health and moral authority can be restored to the Executive. The proposed Constitutional amendment is aimed at that goal. Here are its details:

Under the amendment, the legislative branch, by a vote of no confidence, can set in motion proceedings for a new election to determine the choice of the people. It should be noted that the amendment is not intended to make, and does not make, a vote of no confidence something easily achieved. An extraordinary three-fifths majority is required. And one-third of the Senate and all of the House will be running at the same time as, or shortly after, the new Presidential election, vulnerable to the criticism that they have acted vindictively or on trivial grounds.

Second, while the proceedings are in motion, the President who has brought his administration to such a state would be required to turn over the government to his Vice President to act in his stead. If the President has managed to weaken his administration to such a point that Congress is willing to vote no confidence and call for new elections, that President should not be left in office to muddle through until new elections are held. But, in order to relieve any unease that a Congress in the hands of an opposition party would use the vote of no confidence as a narrow partisan weapon to get rid of the President, the proper recourse is to follow the line of succession established by the Constitution and statute. Passing the office to the Vice President would mean that the same party would retain the Presidency. Such a step would also deter narrow partisanship, inasmuch as the new acting President would be expected to enter into a honeymoon with public opinion and thus would be a leading candidate in the election.

Third, the special Presidential election that follows the vote of no confidence will take place in 90-110 days, or at the mid-term Congressional election date if the no-confidence vote occurs after June 1 of that year. In practice, if the no-confidence vote occurred during the first 17 months of the Presidential term, or during the third or fourth years (in which a vote of no confidence would be increasingly less likely, because of the term's prospective running its course), the special election would occur in this 90-110 days.

If the election occurs at the regular November mid-term Congressional election date, the President would serve a regular four-year term, right in phase with Congressional elections.

If the special Presidential election is set at 90-110 days from the date of adoption of the concurrent resolution, the term would be the time between that special election and the next Congressional election, plus two years—a total of around three years or so. Such a term is long enough to make the special election process worthwhile, while at the same time it gets back into phase with the regular Congressional election dates at the earliest possible time.

Fourth, since the incumbent President against whom no confidence is voted will have sat out a substantial part of his term, it seems only fair and equitable to exempt him from the two-term Constitutional limitation and permit him to seek vindication from the voters if he wishes to have a referendum on his conduct in office —assuming of course, that his party will nominate him.

While the vote of no confidence and the stepping aside of the President is new in the United States system, it is by no means a radical proposal. It is common to parliamentary systems, and its development in England preceded the American Revolution. To adopt the no-confidence procedure would be a long way from adopting the total parliamentary system, however, since the new government to emerge from the election would be the American Presidential government, not a British parliamentary prime minister-cabinet system.

Nor should we think of the special election as something unheard of in our system. At the Philadelphia

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Convention the Framers deliberately structured the language of Article II, section 1, clause 5, so as to give Congress the option of calling a special election whenever both the office of President and the office of Vice President became vacant at the same time. Acting upon this authority, the Congress in the Act of March 1, 1972, dealing with Presidential succession, did provide for a special election in that event. This provision was law for some eighty years and, while the occasion never arose for its utilization, its existence should dispel any inclination to view this proposal with alarm. Incidentally, the same act also appears to have intended to give the victor of such a special election a full four-year term rather than the remainder of the vacancy.

More important than the actual removal of a President is the existence of the power to remove. This should lessen Presidential arrogance, and induce a President to consult and cooperate with the Congress. It should help check the erosion of Congressional power by the President—excessive delegation of powers to the President, use of executive agreements not requiring ratification rather than treaties, making war without Congressional approval, impoundment of funds, executive privilege. Both the Presidency and the Congress would be strengthened in the process.

Our system needs measures to prevent a continuing downward spiral of government vitality. A strong President and a strong Congress are both necessary. I have submitted my proposed Amendment in the hope that it will stimulate serious study and thoughtful discussion.

WORK WHILE YOU STUDY

JOEL C. MILLONZI

The workplace enters the learning process

Peculiar as it may seem, students in most places around the world reject the idea that working and studying are complementary experiences. This attitude may be attributed to those vestiges of European tradition which held education, particularly in universities, a process properly to be set aside from the workplace. As with many European mores, this tradition remains as cultural baggage in nations inheriting continental models.

Take the case of African students, for example. Many of them attend universities in nations facing enormous work projects. Sanitation facilities must be built; roads must be constructed; towns must be planned; moreover, tribal prejudices and modes of behavior must be dealt with—tasks which took our American predecessors almost a century to accomplish. Yet, despite the magnitude and immediacy of these and commensurate projects, most African university students show a characteristic similarity with their peers in other lands in postponing confrontation with these problems until after graduation. Even government attempts to promote involvement through summer work programs attract only a small percentage of students.

As mentioned, these student attitudes are not characteristically African; they're European. While studying at the University of Vienna a few years ago, I observed this phenomenon in Europe's backyard. The student lifestyle in Vienna allowed little time for work either during the academic year or between terms. Whether walking through the inner-city streets or on a holiday mountain visit, one could sense the popular sympathy and accommodation for the student whose only vacation was study. Indeed, student youth hostels may symbolize Europe's separation of the vocational from the academic. I can remember student preference for conversations on the theoretical works of Hegel and Schopenhauer. The more pragmatic discourses of people like Schiller and James seldom found their way into our cafe house exchanges.

Even Chinese students have displayed European characteristics of separating work and school. In spite of students' revolutionary zeal and an appealing ideology, the Chinese government faced strong opposition in its attempt to show that work and study are compatible paths to knowledge. One has only to read of efforts to establish Chinese Labor Universities in the late 1950s to catch a glimpse of how strongly embedded this notion had become there. Jan Myrdal's and Gun Kessele's book, *The Revolution Continued,* vividly portrays how it has been only recently through the work of the Red Guard that the Chinese have accepted work as a dignified form of learning.

If in fact we hold European traditions responsible for the dichotomy of work and study, we must, in fairness, credit recent European experiments in work/study programs for holding promise of innovation for the better. The Scandinavian folk schools which mix the two elements are an interesting example of what can be accomplished when the premise is that work and study do

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go hand in hand. In Denmark, for example, students attending a folk school undergo an educational process which unlike conventional educational procedures, works from practice to theory. Such schools thus encourage sociology or agricultural science majors to begin with their personal experiences when forming generalizations rather than beginning with theory first.

Today, in the United States, as a sign of recognition that the workplace should consciously enter the learning process, some American colleges (and some high schools) give credit for one's work experience. New York State's Empire State College is one such example. Sometimes referred to as the "college without walls," Empire State will grant a substantial number of credits to the student able to demonstrate that his or her work has been a source of knowledge. Northeastern University in Boston and Antioch College in Ohio have been pioneers in work/study programs.

Students at LaGuardia College in Long Island City, New York, participate in the nation's first fully cooperative educational program at the junior college level. What this means is that every student, whether a liberal arts or a business major, serves an "internship" at work optimally related to his or her course of study. Three such internships are required for three out of eight mandatory quarters of attendance. Thus a business major enjoys the opportunity to judge his or her skills in secretarial science, computer programming and managerial science in a true work situation. A liberal arts major may test classroom theories in a variety of experiences such as high school counseling, assisting a professional researcher, or working on a political campaign.

Programs of work/study like LaGuardia's (discussed more fully below) have come about for several reasons. They may be conceived of as responses to the claims of critics like Ivan Illich and Paul Goodman that confining the educational process to colleges alone promotes too narrow a conception of learning. Hence, authors Illich and Goodman argue, the educational process fails to aid in one's gaining knowledge of oneself and/or society.

Those of Illich's persuasion suggest that our society should consider deschooling itself completely. The recent discussion of applying the voucher system to education was a step in deemphasizing schooling. Ideally, under that system, students would learn what they desire by entering a contractual agreement with a university or some other educational agency. Conceivably, if the non-university agencies have a superior performance record, schools would become a less popular place for learning. It seems that underlying most of this criticism of schools (and probably the common point among critics) is what philosopher Robert McClintock noted recently in an article for the Jan.-Feb. *Center Magazine*, namely, that as the "dominant educational institution, they (schools) become pedagogically perverse."

Listening to their critics, educators are attempting to broaden their vision of the learning process. In doing so, they've turned first to the workplace.

Beyond answering critics, the scholar may cite other reasons to extend educational horizons. Experts in various academic disciplines, particularly in the social science, generally agree that many theories have difficulty in withstanding empirical conditions of workplace. Working "in the field" thus provides students with the important opportunity to distinguish between theory and practice and to determine for themselves how different disciplines contribute to the understanding and solving of problems.

Economics provides a good example. Although perhaps the most advanced of the social sciences, economics falters when it tries to explain fully our current inflationary problems. The dynamics of the workplace are such that to thoroughly understand our economic idiosyncracies, one needs to have explored sociological, psychological and political theories as well. In a critique of his field, Oskar Morgenstern recently urged his fellow economists "to look freshly at the economy as a living and changing organism, not as a clockwork orange, whose movements are predetermined." Close involvement with the workplace then, has served to sharpen scholarly tools of analysis.

Few, if any, scholars would, of course, argue that school is an outmoded forum for learning. In fact, the classroom probably takes on even more importance as the workplace becomes involved in the educational process. For in order to draw out meaning satisfactorily from the often chaotic workplace of a social worker, bankteller, or epidemiologist, the classroom experience must play an essential part in training students in discriminative thinking. Without the capabilities of reasonably objective observation and analysis, the additional experience of work may contribute little to one's learning. Adding work to one's program does not therefore imply discarding scientific habits which classroom methods are probably better equipped to teach.

In addition to the above reasons, there are clearly other considerations which figured in the inauguration of work/study experiments. The financial necessity of students comes close to the top of the more popular arguments. The cost of higher education is substantial. Students attending private institutions must be prepared to pay anywhere between $3500 and $5000 annually in tuition and living fees, a considerable sum for most people.

The strain is almost equal for many attending public colleges. I recently surveyed my Economics students at LaGuardia Community College, a tuition-free branch of the City University, and found that the average class member spent over $126 a month to attend a college which has no major fees. Before the first work internship, student expenses add up to almost $800 over the

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six-month period. This is a sizable sum, especially when one also considers that the majority of LaGuardia students come from families with annual incomes of less than $8000. As the 1972 *Manpower Report to the President* suggests, in the face of pressing financial demands, it is almost a necessity for a student to work regardless of whether he or she attends a private or public institution. Given this fact, many in academic and non-academic circles seek to integrate these work experiences into the total educational process.

So Far

A pertinent question which needs to be asked with regard to work/study programs is: What have we learned from these experiments thus far? One thing that has struck some of us at LaGuardia has been the fundamental misunderstanding of the term 'work.' In this essay as well as in general usage, work is simply a term for that expenditure of time and effort whose equivalent is defined by a wage or a salary. Its essential definition, however, derives from the Greek word *ergon* and means the use of energy, a definition which many physicists still apply to the word. Using the fundamental definition, then, it's clear that study, as a use of one's mental energies, qualifies as work, just as much as the physical rigors of construction work. Nevertheless, a common attitude shared by many students is that those who study don't make money and therefore, from their viewpoint, are not working.

As obvious as this attitude may seem, it may have interesting implications when one considers it in conjunction with theories of the psychoanalyst Erik Erikson. Erikson observes in his famous work, *Childhood and Society,* that youths deprived of the opportunity to perform activities which are adult-like sometimes display a tendency to rebel.

Berkeley anthropolgist George Pettitt thinks Erikson is correct. Writing in his book, *Prisoners of Culture,* Professor Pettitt states that much of modern day youth's recidivism may in fact be the result of denying youth a chance to work for money, a major adult activity which many students somehow see as unrelated to study.

David Rogers recently illuminated this point again in an article entitled "Vocational and Career Education." Citing evidence in the 1972 Manpower Report on work/study students, Rogers notes:

> Taking jobs reflects, among other things, a desire for independence, action and services, as well as a need to escape the unreal, confining, and even coercive confines of the classroom. Apparently, these part-time jobs are of great importance to many students who derive considerable benefit from such early work experience.

Perhaps this psychological association of work and the earning of money is what underlies favorable student response to LaGuardia's program. A questionnaire administered to the freshman class entered in the Spring of 1972 found that approximately 65 percent of the students matriculating at that time chose LaGuardia because of the work/study program. Perhaps even more indicative that the program enjoys student popularity is the fact that LaGuardia's attrition rate (29.4 percent in the Spring, 1972) has been significantly lower than that of the City University at large (recently reported at approximately 50 percent) and below a recent California estimate of their freshman attrition rate (36 percent).

Despite negative attitudes toward young workers shown by many employers nationally, those associated with LaGuardia's program have tended to welcome student workers. The program affords employers opportunities to fill positions that are not of a long-term nature, but that are usually long enough to give employers a good chance to decide whether to offer the student full-time positions after graduation.

We've also learned that business majors tend to be more satisfied with their work placements than liberal arts majors. Recently, I met one of my Economics students on the subway as he was returning from his internship in a Manhattan banking house. When I asked him whether he thought his work complemented our classroom material, and whether he thought the work/study approach to learning was a good idea, he responded affirmatively. He intimated, however, that I would probably get less than a favorable response from some of his classmates who sometimes found their work boring and unrelated to the classroom discussions.

The students who do report that the work aspect of their program is unrewarding or boring usually complain of the irrelevant content of the experience. Seldom, however, is that learning which is derived from the work process reflected upon. For example, I am acquainted with a liberal arts major whose interests lie in politics. He served three internships: one on the McGovern campaign; another at Alexander's Department Store; and a third in conjunction with New York City's Addiction Services Administration. He enjoyed the McGovern campaign work because he could readily relate the substance of that job to his classroom theories, but he admitted being relatively unhappy with the other two experiences because their substance was not to him manifestly political. "They were O.K., but not great," he said.

I questioned whether or not he thought he had learned something of the political interactions of people from the process of the other two jobs. He admitted not having viewed those positions in that light. He did see, however, how the work aspect of his program could be helpful in nurturing self-discipline, confidence, the ability to express himself, to handle responsibility, and to make decisions—characteristics which are the foundation of every political process.

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It's somewhat ironic to hear a veteran in college at one moment deriding his military experience as a boring one in which he learned little substantively, and at the next moment acknowledging its worth as a process which encouraged discipline and confidence. It's equally striking to hear students returning from their internships speak in a similar fashion. Regretfully, very many of us forget about or put too little emphasis on pragmatic learning.

From Plato's time, people have recognized that confidence in oneself, the ability to make decisions, and the capacity to express oneself are some of the prerequisites to an individual's learning in life. In fact, as Christopher Lasch reminds us, leaders of the compulsory education movement in the 19th century, Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, felt that schools' foremost tasks should be the development of these personal traits, "tasks far more important than instruction in academic subjects." Ironically, since the turn of the century, we have seldom associated the acquisition of these important traits with an institutionalized education program developed for that purpose.

More will be said below about the acquisition of personal traits which may take place during work/study programs. Before that discussion, it is useful to mention the results of experiments which dealt with redesigning the workplace itself.

The Special Tasks Force on Work recently released a report proclaiming that the majority of American workers at all occupational levels are discontented with their work precisely because their jobs' routine denied them opportunities to develop and use these character traits. In describing the workplace as "dull, repetitive, seemingly meaningless" and limited in opportunities for self-improvement, the report, entitled *Work in America*, probably goes a long way toward explaining worker alienation, and, at the same time, explaining why students everywhere have traditionally shunned the association of work with study.

It should come as little surprise then, that when the workplace was redesigned to alleviate the deadening effects of the workplace, dramatic changes for the better took place. Some notable experiments took place at the General Foods plant in Topeka, Kansas, AT&T, Corning Glass, and the Bankers Trust Company. One of the general aims of these experiments was to give the individual worker more responsibility in decision-making, along with opportunities and rewards for learning and performing new tasks. One takes satisfaction to see that most of these experiments brought about improved yields, minimal waste and avoidance of shutdowns.

The authors of *Work in America* suggest that redesigning the General Foods plant led to maintaining the workers' "curiosity," "self-confidence," "love of learning," and "competence." The authors further suggest that these same goals should be the aim of redesigned schools if educational programs are to share in ending the cry of boredom from the American people.

As mentioned above, the design of work/study programs provides students with an opportunity to learn from the process as well as from the substance transmitted in the classroom. By providing these opportunities schools and colleges may accomplish what the early leaders of the mass education movement intended them to. At LaGuardia, for example, the student engaged in the program may begin to develop a sense of curiosity as he or she begins to think about what type of work is desired for the first internship—a reality only six months away from matriculation. Even though all have the benefit of an experienced faculty advisor, the students must weigh in their own minds and then decide what type of work may or may not be useful to them.

While on the job, the analytical process continues. If one is fortunate enough to gain employment with obvious relevance to one's interests, it provides the opportunity to judge whether the field meets one's earlier expectations. This was the case recently, for example, when an accounting major told me that her internship in that field disappointed her, and that she'd have to choose a new major in the business area.

Even if the work is less clearly related to one's academic goals, the student stands to gain the experience of an interaction with an employer and fellow employees, as well as to gain insight into a social segment perhaps not previously considered. This seems to be a particularly important opportunity for young people lacking major exposure to the vast world of work around them. Such interpersonal skills, as an article in the *Harvard Educational Review* notes, represent the "hidden or untaught curriculum (which) probably has a greater long-term effect on students than the formal planned learning program."

Besides giving exposure to students and promoting their practice in decision-making, the process of work/study programs may aid one in developing communication skills. One can find evidence of this when attending the periodic checks (or practicums) where advisors monitor student attitudes and behavior patterns while students are at work. Students must express themselves at these sessions. They generalize on their work experience and, as much as possible, are expected to explore the connection between theory and practice in an academic area.

Some have difficulty articulating their opinion or lack sufficient information necessary for a dialogue on theory and practice. For this reason, the classroom aspect of the program becomes equally, if not more, important than it has traditionally been. The potential benefit of the process outlined above is clearly beyond the reach of those without adequate verbal facility, mathematical skills, or reasoning ability—traits developed best in the classroom. After all, how can one assess a job's desira-

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bility if one has difficulty fully understanding its description; or how can one analyze one's experience on the job if he or she has trouble thinking methodically?

To emphasize the work/study formula's potential in developing one's interpersonal skills is not to deny what some regard as the program's essential mission: job placement. But as Rogers and others point out to us, the job market changes so rapidly that specific career programs tend to become quickly outdated. Furthermore, the statistics show that many who do learn particular skills frequently end up in quite different work.

Work/study programs, then, perform an important function by aiding students in getting their first job; they can, however, perhaps perform an even more important function, perhaps the essential educational role, by helping students to prepare for life, with its variety of experiences. As work/study programs come to perform this broader role, their value should become greater and their appeal more universal.

GROPERS & SLICKSTERS

THE SCREEN

One thing we have always liked movies for is their ability to provide information. Moviemakers discovered early that audiences enjoy finding out how other people behave or how otherwise inaccessible places look. In fact so much filmmaking has been devoted to this urge to be edified, the whole history of movies might be regarded as an extension of their first genre, the travelogue. A period film or costume drama is just a travelogue through time instead of space. Like the early history of the novel, the early stages in the history of the movies have been preoccupied with showing us how some other half lives. We attend movies to marvel at the cunning of a latter-day Moll Flanders or to thrill at her degradations. To us bank clerks in Hollywood's audience, the private lives of bank presidents and bank robbers are fascinating.

George Roy Hill's *The Sting* has classic appeal of this sort. It opens with the camera focused on a two-tone pair of shoes, as if Hill were anxious to assure us from the very first shot that little period touches like this are what the film is all about. From then on its attention to such details never flags. The film has now been nominated for ten Academy Awards, and it has clearly worked hard to cop at least two of those, Best Art Direction and Best Costume Design.

In other respects *The Sting* may be lacking, but it has also obviously hit upon the sort of arcane subject that pulls moviegoers into theaters. It does not really have a plot so much as an exposition arranged to look like a plot. It is a slide talk on how to run the Big Con. It discloses all the trade secrets of confidence men from Bilk to Wire, from the time the first Chump gets the Boodle until the Grifters put the Sting on the last Mark. Paul Newman and Robert Redford have been hired to demonstrate this science on the same theory that curvaceous "hostesses" are hired at conventions to hand out promotional material on computer hardware or beverage services or whatever is being sold. Yes sir, *The Sting* is one smooth operation, and director Hill is as slick as the slickest con man who ever lived.

"That's en - ter - tain - ment!" as the song says. Good as it is, though, it must be admitted to have its limitations. Something that interests us mainly because we have never seen it before is, by definition, a novelty, and novelties tend to wear off. The better a prototype is, the sooner it becomes a stereotype. What such entertainment is not, not by itself anyway, is art. Art requires something more durable than information—something inimitable, something that will still seem unique and original after the mere information has become old-hat or obsolete. And that something is usually a personal style that a director, or writer or painter, can impose on the subject he is dealing with. No one would read *Moll Flanders* anymore just to get the straight poop on eighteenth-century England or be titillated by the confessions of a strumpet. In those areas scholarship and pornography long ago surpassed Defoe's novel. No, it is the way Defoe wrote Moll's narrative, not what she says but how she says it, that still makes the book enjoyable.

In the same manner, long after *The Sting* has been weighted down with Oscars and sunk into oblivion like a gangster's victim into the East River, Robert Altman's *Thieves Like Us* will still be a watchable movie. One scene alone would be worth the price of admission even if nothing else in the film deserved a second glance. In this scene one of the three protagonists, who are 1930s desperadoes and bank robbers, is reciting an article about his gang's exploits while they eat a meal at a relative's home. As his dramatic reading absorbs the gang members in their own notoriety, Altman intercuts shots of the kids fidgeting and the women inattentively fussing over the meal. "Use your bread as a pusher," the woman of the house instructs her son just before the article begins to speculate on how the bank robbers will probably die.

Because he was thinking about Howard Hawks' *The Big Sleep* while making his own Raymond Chandler film, *The Long Goodbye,* Altman may still have Hawks on his mind. Certainly the way Altman choreographs overlapping dialogue in the scene just described owes much to Hawks, and in its general conception *Thieves Like Us* also seems not dissimilar to *The Big Sleep*. Just as Hawks cannot be bothered to show us most of the murders in his crime melodrama, Altman cannot be

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Thieu's South Vietnam

A precondition for the long American involvement in Vietnam has always been ignorance and confusion on the part of the American public as to what we were really doing there, which was always in radical contradiction with our *professed* aims. "Full disclosure" as required in the sale of securities would long ago have destroyed the sustaining myths that we were trying to help (or "save") the majority of South Vietnamese (although our policies were always consistent with the interests of a small elite, many of whom functioned solely to service Americans); that we were preserving free choice and self-determination and opposing aggression by somebody else; that it was the enemy who relied primarily on force and terror; and that our goal was a democratic order in South Vietnam.

Each of these myths was exploded by a succession of individual analysts, by the Pentagon Papers, and by a steady stream of facts seeping out of Vietnam and Washington over the years. . . . The imposition of a minority faction of our choice, temporarily sustained in power by years of the most violent and massive outside interference, and which survives only by U.S. sustenance and increasingly brutal repression, is established as the great triumph of American selflessness! . . .

We have created in South Vietnam a monster that makes the Diemist fascism of 1961 look benevolent and at least marginally home-grown; and Mr. Nixon and his followers are not angry that their brutal satellite doesn't act like a democracy.

EDWARD S. HERMAN
Commonweal, April 20, 1973

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bothered to show us most of the bank robberies in his. What gives the dinner-table scene style, however, is not the way its reflects Hawks, but the way in which it is all Altman's own. As I said, that scene would make *Thieves Like Us* memorable even if the film had no other scenes worth looking at. But it does, and in part the quality of the dinner-table scene is that it sets the tone for so much before and after it. Is sums up so aphoristically a view of human experience consistent throughout the film.

In that view, the incidental, everyday circumstances of life take precedent over men's self-importance and derring-do. At every turn such circumstances unwittingly upset the best-laid plans just as the woman's concern with daily routine interrupts the reading of the article. For Altman, as for Breugel, trivial action finally matters more than heroics. The reason he is unable to show us the bank robberies is that he is more interested in watching someone hand out free Coca-Cola from a truck in front of the get-away car. In fact the car has to drive around this small charity in order to pick up its load of hostages, and then it drives off without ever being noticed by the assembled crowd.

The same intractability in life spoils the bank robbers' fun when they re-enact a robbery in their relative's front parlor, and the children get too bored to keep up their part in the game. This obduracy in human nature ruins a bold escape from a prison farm when the gang member being sprung thoughtlessly bad-mouths his rescuer's girlfriend and is put out of the car at gunpoint. As an ambiguity in the film's title is meant to suggest, Altman's thieves really are like us. It is not the Law or some special Fate that overwhelms them, but the sheer picayunishness of living that afflicts us all.

This is not to say that Altman's film is perfect or even his best work. To impose his own idiosyncrasies on a film, Altman has to take risks with his directing. He has to be a groper, and inevitably he stumbles in some scenes. But unlike that pair of two-tone shoes coming down the street in *The Sting*, the little pick-up truck from which Coke is dispensed during the robbery in *Thieves Like Us* is not just a quaint period detail. George Roy Hill shows us those shoes at a moment when nothing else is going on in his movie. He does so precisely *because* nothing else is going on in his movie.

But Altman focuses on the Coke truck at a time when everything else is going on. He focuses on it in order to comment on what is going on. Whereas Hill's shot is just an observation, Altman's is a statement. That is what a style is for, to make statements, and only a director who has something to say ever feels the need to develop a style. Oscars are all right for *The Sting*. They are the sort of momentary recognition that a film like that deserves. Altman's work can wait for something more permanent since it will be around a long time.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

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GEORGE ORWELL AND THE AMERICAN CHARACTER

KATHARINE BYRNE

Ill winds from the West

Events of the past year have encouraged a number of variations on the theme, Orwell-you-should-be-living-at-this-hour, each asking what he would say about us *now*, this decent and angry Englishman. What would the man whose Winston Smith cut and pasted the Party's latest version of history in the Ministry of Truth, throwing the discards into the memory hole, think about Howard Hunt, working with razor blade and scotch tape in the White House basement? That's too easy, and already overshadowed by other headlines; last week's dealt with "the process of erasing and rerecording perhaps as many as nine separate and contiguous segments" of a tape intended, we were earlier told, to provide a record of history. Try this: What did Orwell think about us *then*, in the dozen years before his death early in 1950? His insights and crotchets, in prose like a windowpane, include damning references to American influence on English life. (*The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, edited by Sonia Brownell Orwell and Ian Angus. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1968.)

George Orwell loved England as a mother loves a wayward child, and he was always scolding his country back to some mythic time of native decencies, urging the rejection of invading ideas from East and West, notions foreign and inferior. Again and again he berated young left-wing intellectuals for "taking their cooking from France and their politics from Russia." (This in spite of his friend George Woodcock's reminder that all the left-wing intellectuals *he* knew were too poor to afford French cooking, and were more likely to eat in Chinese or Greek restaurants.) As for the winds from the West, carrying American ideas, attitudes, customs, Orwell hated the excesses and errors he defined as American, derived from American advertising, American popular literature, American movies, the American worship of money and power.

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In an early novel, *Keep the Aspidistra Flying* (1936), one cannot be sure that the fretful young bookstore clerk, Gordon Comstock, speaks for his author, but it is likely that he does. Gordon has a grievance against "the money god," and, determined to renounce its worship, gives up his job in the advertising agency where "most of the men were the hard-boiled, Americanized, go-getting type to whom nothing in the world is sacred except money." Later, after two hundred painful pages of struggle, Gordon decides to return to that world. Picking up a magazine he riffles through it in despair, sickened once more by the sight of "page after page, advert after advert. . . . A panorama of ignorance, greed, vulgarity, snobbishness, whoredom and disease. . . . But, of course, it was an American paper. The Americans always go one better on any kind of beastliness. . . ." Orwell does speak for himself a few years later. In one of the wartime letters he wrote for the *Partisan Review*, he notes "the arrival of American magazines with their enormous bulk, sleek paper, and riot of brilliantly colored adverts urging you to spend your money on trash."

Not only the "adverts" but also the writing. In his essay "Boys' Weeklies," Orwell looks in at the offerings of a typical news agent's shop, with its "poky little window with sweet-bottles and packets of *Players*, and its dark interior smelling of liquorice allsorts and festooned from floor to ceiling with vilely printed twopenny papers, most of them with lurid cover illustrations in three colors." Focusing on those papers whose appeal is to boys between the ages of twelve and eighteen, he finds that they fall into three groups. First, those popular in his own childhood, still published, though slipping, in the late thirties. These papers feature continuous serials about boys' public schools: cosy teas around the study fire, team rivalries, practical jokes; boys who are "clean-living, keep in hard training, wash behind their ears, never hit below the belt;" and bad boys whose badness consists of "betting, smoking cigarettes, frequenting public houses." Next is a newer breed of English magazine, with stories about bombs, death rays, Martians, robots; and heroes who are G-men, air aces, master spies: always some single all-powerful character. But these papers are poor copies at best of the real thing, the third group, known as "Yank Mags." While the moral code of the English boys' papers is a decent one, with crime and dishonesty never held up for admiration,

> there is a great difference in tone between even the most bloodthirsty English paper and the three-penny Yank Mags. In the Yank Mags (*Fight Stories, Action Stories*, etc.) you get real bloodlust, really gory descriptions of the all-in, jump on his testicles style of fighting written in a jargon that has been perfected by people who brood endlessly on violence.

Thus what begins as a pleasant exercise in nostalgia develops into a piece of social criticism, with American magazines, symptoms of American cynicism and corruption, contaminating the English school child or working

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boy. For now (the year is 1939) the process of Americanization has established the American ideal, the "tough guy, the gorilla, who puts everything right by socking everybody else on the jaw."

Five years later, Orwell did a similar then-and-now contrast between two popular crime novels, written forty years apart and revealing an "enormous difference in moral atmosphere and the change in popular attitude that this probably implies." His essay "Raffles and Miss Blandish" (1944) opens with an affectionate backward look at the Edwardian amenities of Raffles, E. W. Hornung's gentleman cricket player and jewel thief, a man who will not steal from his Mayfair hosts (only from other guests), who will not kill anyone and who avoids violence, "preferring to carry on unarmed." A patriot as well as a gentleman, on the occasion of Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, Raffles sends the Queen an antique cup he has stolen from the British Museum. In expiation for his crimes, which are mild indeed by modern standards, involving "very few corpses, hardly any blood, no sex crimes, no sadism, no perversions of any kind," Raffles dies for queen and country in the Boer War.

Compared to *Raffles*, the novel *No Orchids for Miss Blandish* represents, in Orwell's words "a header into a cesspool." Written by James Hadley Chase, an Englishman who learned to write "in the American language" and achieved "a mental transference to the American underworld," this book contains eight murders, an unassessable number of casual killings, innumerable beatings, tortures, rapes. Perverts and sadists abound, but there are no patriots and no gentlemen; the detective is as great a rogue as the gangsters. The whole point is the pursuit of power, the triumph of power, cruelty for its own sake. And its success, what does that prove? To Orwell, an acquiescence in "the American tendency, in life and in fiction, to admire the criminal if he gets away with the crime." The English, he fears, are at this point, "partly Americanized in language, and, one ought to add, in moral outlook." *No Orchids* sold half a million copies during the Blitz.

Two years later, the American way of murder came out from between book covers and took over the headlines in a sordid series of events involving an American army deserter and a young English girl. But before he can decry this monstrous Americanism, Orwell must look back to better times. His essay, "The Decline of the English Murder," starts out mildly enough with pleasurable rememberings of the days when a man could find in his Sunday paper an old-fashioned English domestic murder, and revel in its niceties. The best-loved murders, "committed in England's Elizabethan period, so to speak, roughly between 1850 and 1925," had much in common:

> The murderer should be a little man of the professional class—a dentist or a solicitor, say—living an intensely respectable life somewhere in the suburbs, and preferably in a semi-detached house which will allow the neighbors to hear suspicious sounds through the wall. He should be either chairman of the local Conservative Party branch, or a leading Nonconformist and strong temperance advocate. He should go astray through cherishing a guilty passion for his secretary or the wife of a rival professional man, and should only bring himself to the point of murder after long and terrible wrestles with his conscience.

These classic murders had style. Moreover, a man could feel a kind of respect for the audacity and imagination of the murderer as well as sympathy for the victim. Consider, among the classic English murders, "Crippen's flight across the Atlantic with his mistress dressed as a boy, or Joseph Smith playing 'Nearer My God to Thee' on the harmonium while one of his wives was drowning in the next room."

But during the war years what was the murder that filled the Sunday supplements? It was the story of an American army deserter and the eighteen-year-old English girl he picked up in a teashop and with whom he started down the road to senseless crimes in a stolen Army truck. Here the "background is not domesticity but the anonymous life of the dance halls and the false values of the American film." The pair run over a girl on a bicycle, robbing her of a few shillings; knock out another girl to whom they have given a lift, taking her coat and handbag, throwing her into the river; murder a cab driver and spend his £8 at the dog races. In this essay, which appeared in Orwell's own "As I Please" column when he was the literary editor for Aneurin Bevan's radical socialist *Tribune*, again the familiar pattern: a backward look to better times followed by the degenerate contemporary example. And whose fault is it? "The most talked about murder of the year, significantly, was committed by an American and an English girl who has become partly americanized." (No capital letter there.)

The presence of American troops in England during the years when the island was a launching pad for the invasion of Europe did nothing to persuade Orwell that his reactions to American influences over the previous decade had been wrong. Thousands of soldiers, Americans far from home and in a place not to their liking, swarmed over England. In one of his letters to the *Partisan Review*, he said of these men:

> They wear on their faces a look of settled discontent. I don't know how far this may be the normal expression of the American countenance, as against the English countenance, which is mild, vague, and rather worried.

Among the "worried" were soldiers of the British Army, whose girls were impressed by the pay scale of the Americans, five times that of the locals. American soldiers wouldn't drink the native brews and were fed on foods the British couldn't get for their own children. American officers "grabbed all the taxis and drank all the good whiskey." Brawling and boasting, the Americans treated the place like oc-

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cupied territory, an "old-fashioned, dingy, poverty-stricken country," and they did not conceal their contempt from the natives.

Orwell's spirits were not raised by his own contacts, admittedly few. In a diary entry, after the war, he says that he was touched and pleased when a French journalist spoke with appreciation of his paper, the *Tribune*. Among the American writers, however, "with their glittering uniforms and enormous salaries," he never met one who had ever heard of it.

The Collected Essays contain fourteen references to James Burnham, the American social scientist and philosopher. In Burnham, whose theory and prediction were vigorously contested in his own country, Orwell thought he saw the codification of the power principle, the might-is-right cult, the political "realism" admired by the Americans. Orwell took Burnham seriously. In spite of Burnham's low scores as a futurist plotting the course of history (he predicted that Hitler would win against England, later that Hitler would defeat Russia, and finally that Russia would launch a third world war very soon after the end of the second one), Orwell thought he read in Burnham a characteristically American respect for power, an equating of greatness with cruelty and dishonesty, an admiration for the winner and a belief that "whoever is winning at the moment will always be invincible." Burnham believed (*The Managerial Revolution*) in the coming of a world of three managerial conglomerates or super-states, continually at war with one another; a world in which older forms of domination give way to rule by self-perpetuating elites: managers, technicians, bureaucrats, intellectuals. What disturbed Orwell most was the fear that "such holders of power and privilege are perfectly willing to accept secret police systems, dictatorial methods, the falsification of history—as long as 'it is on our side.'"

The brutalities, the sadisms and perversions of Yank mags, American movies, popular literature were bad enough; but if the intellectuals bought the package, admired the product, and sold out for "the chance to get their own hands on the whip," then all was lost. If, as he says, the Yank mags were written by men who "brood endlessly on violence," he brooded on it also. He finished *Animal Farm* in 1943. For the next five years, *1984* was on his mind, quintessential violence to brain and body.

Parents confronted by an ill-natured adolescent comfort themselves with remembering what an amenable child he used to be. Historians confronting present realities and asked to account for them, search the sacred documents for evidence that the country's youthful impulses were sound and generous, though presently defiled. Asked to explain the Watergate mentality, Henry Steele Commager published last summer a long essay in the *New York Review of Books*. He said that our national disease is power. Bolstering his analysis of what's-wrong-with-us by references to recent writings of Senator Fulbright (*The Crippled Giant*), former Senator Goodell (*Political Prisoners in America*), and political analyst David Wise (*The Politics of Lying*), Commager concluded that "responsibility for our crisis is rooted in changes in the American character, the American mind, American habits or traits over the last quarter-century, changes reflected in Mr. Nixon and his associates and in the current style of U.S. politics."

According to Commager, the young nation we used to be had impulses called "Jeffersonian," a national sense of responsibility to establish an empire of reason, a model and a moral example of the world. But now we have a new sense of mission, a mission

> to be achieved, not by reason but by power—force at home to whip recalcitrants into line, force abroad to whip lesser breeds into line. . . . If Jefferson is a representative figure of the U.S. enlightenment, faithfully reflecting its virtues, its optimisms, its faiths, its limitations, so perhaps Mr. Nixon is a representative figure of contemporary United States, reflecting its arrogance, its violence, its passion for manipulation, its commercialism. . . .

Arrogance, violence, manipulation, commercialism; and a national disease called power. If these are indeed new qualities, evidences of "changes in the American character during the past twenty-five years," George Orwell, a prescient man who died early in 1950, may be credited with taking note of them early, and regretting them also.

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EDWARD PROFFITT

SIBLINGS: AN ENJAMBED SONNET

In ways foreseen yet unforeseen, we live
From day to day surprised by what we know
We know, but did not know at all: we grow
From ignorance, and thereby learn to give.
An apple serves our purposes: it tastes
Of death, although at first it was a show
Of youthful innocence; its seedy wastes
Remain to speak of half of what we know.
An apple serves as well for love: it shakes
Upon its bough, but clings to ripeness; slow
To change its colors, still at last it breaks
Its pulpy round: its seeds speak that we grow.
Love and death are sibling counters to our
Ignorance, and teach us what we are.

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MANDELSTAMS — SEARCHING FOR SIGNALS

JOHN HEIDENRY

Hope Abandoned
NADEZHDA MANDELSTAM
Atheneum, $13.95

Selected Poems
OSIP MANDELSTAM
Trans. by Clarence Brown and W. S. Merwin
Atheneum, $6.25

Nadezhda Mandelstam could write just about anything and still our esteem for her and her poet-husband Osip would not diminish; for we have formed our opinion not on the basis of some extraneous works of art, but on the heroism—both moral and physical—of their lives.

Alas, what Madame Mandelstam has written is just about anything. Every vice of two hundred years of Russian literature is to be found in the pages of *Hope Abandoned*. Here is a book not merely sprawling, like Texas or Norman Mailer, but suggestive of some of the fabulous non-places of the earth: the far reaches of the Yukon, or coldest Siberia. The memoir ends when it runs out of world; and even then the print seems to spill over the flat extremity into the void.

As for the poetry in translation of Osip Mandelstam, one's sense of unease is almost Copernican. In the mystical and comet-ridden Russian heavens, still visible despite the blood-dark cumuli of Soviet horrors, only Pushkin's star shines more brightly. This is all the more remarkable in that Mandelstam's poems were not published in the U.S.S.R. until only very recently and almost simultaneously, in fact, with the bureaucratic decision not to allow publication of Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*; and that only in the last ten years has he been an important author in *samizdat*, or the circulation of manuscripts by hand among an underground intelligentsia.

The decisive facts of Mandelstam's life seem to be easily summarized: a Jew, albeit one deeply attracted by the sacramentalism and culture of Christianity; like two other great Russian writers, Gogol and Nabokov, finding a muse not so much in the Holy Soil of the Fatherland as in one continuous transcendental vision of the St. Petersburg of his childhood; a leader, with Anna Akhmatova, of a small group of poets who called themselves Acmeists, though this anti-Symbolist movement collapsed before Mandelstam's major poetry was written; who died in the Stalinist purges of 1935-1938. Even his wife Nadezhda might agree that everything else was not quite as important, including their life together, the Revolution, starvation, and all the other things that happen between noon and midnight on the day of apocalypse.

Reading these englished poems of Mandelstam it is difficult to see why his reputation is so towering. Partly it is our fault for being ignorant of the Russian language; and the only redress is to read the translated poems as English poems. One concludes that although much is to be admired in Brown's and Merwin's intentions, there is considerably better poetry to be found in such English second waters as Laurie Lee or Fredegond Shove.

Let us pursue this question further. It seems a fair proposal to make: if the poetry in the original is thought to have some qualities of greatness, then its declension into English ought to be a step above whatever is "ordinary good poetry" at the time. Thus Chapman's Homer is certainly not equal to Marlowe or Donne, but it has more to admire in it than the works of Southwell or a dozen other contemporaries.

What is regrettable in poetry translations of recent years is the trend towards a collaboration involving a poet and someone who can supply him or her with a "raw translation" of the poems requiring englishing. Usually this silent partner is the poet's Spanish spouse, Chinese lover, or more likely academic colleague; but the fact remains it does seem to cheapen the genius of translation, as best exemplified in Chapman, Dryden, Waley, and a host of others; not to mention hundreds of part-time translators who thoroughly familiarize themselves with a foreign tongue before attempting a translation —including in some previous instances Merwin himself who has here proved himself to be, after all, no Merwin.

Professor Brown, whose own biography of Mandelstam has recently been published, seems to confess as much in the Introduction: "I can imagine, if only just," he writes, "an English poem that might reproduce what one critic has called the 'cello sound' of this or that poem of Mandelstam or some other of its effects—its rhymes, its plastic sculpture of rhythm, its tenuously resonating change-ringing of some syllabic bell, its abrupt syntactic somersaults, and all the rest." But if he has to imagine this English imitation it is because obviously the only thing he and Merwin have come up with is a Mandelstam crib in professorial poetry, which is the same thing as Chinese-lover or Spanish-spouse poetry, only the publisher does not have to downplay the role of the non-poet collaborator.

But if the poems are the occasion for petty disgruntlement, Nadezhda Mandelstam's second memoir leads the reader to fiddle with his powers of insight as his attention to the text inevitably wanes. That is, he wonders if there is not some hidden message in

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these hundreds of thousands of words, because outwardly there is little here of consequence except to the specialist.

In *Hope Against Hope* Madame Mandelstam has told the essential story of her husband's persecution, arrest, attempt at suicide, second arrest, and tragic death, and there is no need to repeat any of it here. *Hope Abandoned* if anything is an attempt to tarnish the legend; that is, to get us off our knees for a moment and remind us that the Mandelstams were not just heroes, but also blessed and burdened with human natures. Ostensibly it is "about myself," and indeed it is, though it contains not an iota of autobiography not related in some way to Osip. And the conviction grows in the reader that Nadezhda with inimitable Russian circumlocution is trying to make one single, stark admission: "I did not love Mandelstam." Or perhaps this is better posed as a question: "Did I love Mandelstam?"

"Nadezhda" in Russian means "hope," and the English title is the author's own. Thus it is possible to read this as the story of "Nadezhda abandoned." There is no self-pity in Madame Mandelstam, only the determination of a head-strong old woman finally to set the record straight, if only after a fashion. "I wish to speak the truth and nothing but the truth," she says at one point, "—but the *whole* truth I shall not tell. The ultimate truth I shall keep to myself; nobody else but me needs it." (Her italics.)

Why then does she keep hinting at the "whole truth"? For the deepest pain Nadezhda seems ever to have suffered was perhaps not at the hands of "the Boss" but of her husband Osip, whose affair with Olga Vaksel is extraordinarily similar to Swift's infatuation with Vanessa while his Stella languished. There were earlier amours, but none which got to the point where the "other woman" moved in and, with Osip's acquiescence, proceeded to make Nadezhda feel humiliated and an outsider.

Olga finally departed but perhaps only because Mandelstam depended almost to the point of mania on his wife in his method of writing poetry.

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From the publishers of The Jerusalem Bible

DOUBLEDAY

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Nadezhda was sounding board, amanuensis, editor, typist, even memory-bank; and on some occasions inspiration. But after Olga it was more to the poet than to the man that she was married to.

Thus when Mandelstam died it was the memory and work of the poet that Nadezhda devoted herself to preserving. For she loved Osip's poetry and hated tyranny and somehow to preserve the one and oppose the other were the same struggle. She deceives herself when she says, "Our life together was too short for us to have had many reasons for finding fault with each other." For she has been talking about another of Osip's "spells of light-headedness." But then illogically she continues: "If M. had been rich, or at least comfortably off, there might have been many more temptations, and, wanting to enjoy himself in his old age, he could well have walked out on me, leaving a note on the table to say it had all been a mistake."

At another time she says "it was surely chance that held us together and kept us from the act of mutual destruction that a parting would have brought." And again: "But as regards M., I doubt whether I did the right thing. I should have left him—how could he have dared to love anyone but me? I was a fool who did not really know how to be jealous or make a scene. What joys I denied myself."

But she did make a scene—not only with Mandelstam, but with Stalin and his minions for more than twenty years; and now again with us, remonstrating, trying to append this bizarre footnote to the legend.

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REVIEWERS

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Faith and Morality in The Secular Age

BERNARD HARING, C.Ss.R.

Doubleday, $6.95

JAMES M. GUSTAFSON

It has become somewhat fashionable in theological circles to respond to the work of Bernard Häring in a somewhat condescending way. It is my judgment, however, that he will be seen to be a pivotal figure in this history of moral theology in the twentieth century both in the Catholic tradition, and in an ecumenical perspective. While *The Law of Christ* (3 vols.) clearly contains serious strains between the various strands that are brought together, it opened up many possibilities for further developments by theologians, by clergy and religious, and perhaps also by the laity. Those of us who began our studies of moral theology before Vatican II will always recall with gratitude the contribution of that work.

In the late '40s and '50s when I began to study Catholic social ethics and moral theology there was little common ground for conversations between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Uncritical defenses of traditional natural law were met by Protestant Biblicism and neo-Reformation theology. Certainly the obstructions to ecumenical Christian ethics were eroded by many currents that flowed through both parties, but Häring's book, at least for some of us, had extraordinary significance.

I read *Das Gesetz Christi* in the library of Lund University, Sweden, in the spring of 1960 with great excitement. No more than others was I satisfied with the ways in which the themes of Biblical theology, of Christocentrism, of personalistic views of responsibility, of objective value theory, and of the natural law were loosely woven together in the text. But the possibilities for serious theological conversation with Catholic moral theology were available in Häring's book in a way they were not in the numbers of *Theological Studies* then coming out, or in Ford and Kelly, *Contemporary Moral Theology* which appeared at that time. For all of its intellectual compromises, *The Law of Christ* has had an impact that no other book in moral theology can match in recent decades. On the whole the impact has been beneficial, if only in bringing to awareness the need for moral theology to begin to converse with Biblical theology, ascetical theology, and fundamental theology as well as its ecclesiastical cousin, canon law.

Häring's contributions have been those of a synthesizer rather than those of a rigorous critical analyst, and like many synthesizers he faces the danger of being eclectic. His many books since Vatican II have not broken new fertile soil, including *Faith and Morality in the Secular Age*. Like any religious author who seeks to be highly contemporary in a time (particularly the '60s) when theological fads changed at least with the calendar years if not with the seasons, Häring faces the danger of being "dated." This book evokes a particularly strong sense of already being somewhat out of date. The book evolved from a summer course in 1967 at Union Theological Seminary in New York. There is little penetrating insight or scholarship to compensate for its datedness.

The first chapter is an analysis and evaluation of secularization in modern culture; the themes are very familiar. It is followed by chapters building on the basis of extensive quotations from Vatican II documents (particularly "The Church in the Modern World") and various Biblical materials. The themes that are addressed are important ones, such as the relation of the Kingdom of God to the world, the sacred and the profane, religion and culture, justification by faith alone, and prayer and holiness. But they are addressed in such a way that little new insight into them is gained. In some chapters there are brief summaries of Biblical material and of church historical materials on the issues. The footnotes to literature in each chapter seem to be added as an afterthought; the materials cited are seldom evident in the text either directly or by allusion. On page 166 he

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has collapsed the Niebuhr brothers, mentioning Richard in the text, and citing two of Reinhold's books and one of Richard's. (An editor of religious books should have caught that if the author did not.) Few if any readers of *Commonweal* will gain increment in their understanding of religion and morality in our time from this book.

For those who appreciated Häring's *The Law of Christ*, a quandary exists. If we can place the author in a legitimate class, namely, that of persons who are skilled in communication with hearers and readers who need and respond to religious-moral exhortation that is in touch with current theological developments, there is a satisfactory resolution. If, however, we continue to look for the more rigorous theological synthesis that Häring's earlier work led us to hope for, there is none.

IN BRIEF

THE SATANIZING OF WOMEN: Religion Versus Sexuality, *by Demosthenes Savramis, translated by Martin Ebon, Doubleday, $6.95.* Some good books are not quite good enough to demand even a brief review. But some bad books are so bad they cannot be ignored: ergo, these sentences on *The Satanizing of Women.* The author purports to show that a wholesome harmony of religion and sexuality, found in many primitive and non-Christian societies, has been spoiled in the West by males who, out of fear of women, misrepresent nature, Christ and, surprisingly, St. Paul. While the basic thesis has validity (at least is worth considering), the argument is stumbling, inconsistent and excessively generalized. Anthropological material is too skimpy to have relevance. The discussion of how and why men came to fear women is inconclusive, and the claim that wars result from unhealthy views of sex is allowed to dangle. Savramis, a Greek, writes in German and his text may suffer in translation. No translator, however, can be held responsible for certain oversimplifications, such as this summary of Paul's teachings: "Love God and your neighbor, and do what you wish!" The book falters, early, in a section on Greek Eros. On page 16 the Christian West is accused of inventing "platonic" love in a violation of Plato to undercut the force of Eros. Two pages later Plato is himself culprit. Don't publishers have editors anymore?

ELLIOTT WRIGHT

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 123)

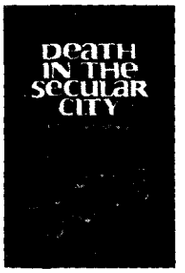
grate, resulting in disaster for the children. A woman's freedom not to use contraception and to abort results in death for the new life. Allowing homosexual couples the freedom to adopt or care for foster children will probably result in the death of that child's opportunity to exercise his full potential as a sexual human being. Removing the taboo of overt homosexual behavior will result in removing one of the strongest pressures on an individual to seek a heterosexual orientation. Many individuals in a "homosexual phase" (which usually occurs in adolescence) will be led to continue in that phase unless there is a strong internalized prohibition not to act out these feelings.

As a Jungian therapist and a child psychiatrist, we are responsible to our individual patients (or their families) to help achieve the greatest wholeness or potential. Removal of the homosexual taboo, without proof that this will relieve the guilt of practicing homosexuals, may in fact cause far more pain and suffering. Individuals with the potential to be creative and generative (in Eriksonian terms) may be denied such if they accept a homosexual orientation prematurely.

The use of mutuality as a criterion for the structure of redeemed human life is certainly open to question. To me it denies that whole body of knowledge which encourage the development of consciousness and aloneness so that one may discover the truly "Other."

Has science abolished the idea of life after death?

DEATH IN THE SECULAR CITY



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Has the church abdicated the hope of life before death?

KINGDOM COME!

by Robert S. Paul

In a world in which the major issue confronting us seems to be the very survival of humanity, is it still worthwhile to maintain an active Church? Not only worthwhile, says Robert Paul, but imperative.

The church is given to the world, and everything it does bears on humanity and the urgent question of survival. Therefore, its task is to proclaim both judgment and reconciliation—and to show men that it is possible to live as humans one with another. With reconciliation as its task, the church cannot be written off as irrelevant—for it holds mankind's only hope in a chaotic world.

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If we look at constitutive homosexuality as a "gift" from God, not to be lived outwardly but as an archetype to be lived inwardly, these individuals may be able to develop their full uniqueness without having to be the scapegoat of the latent homosexual. Most heterosexual individuals have had homosexual feelings and the capacity to act them out. (Is perhaps the celibate priesthood one place for the constitutive homosexual? Wedded to Mother Church, the individual can be creative and generative in the best sense.) The climate today of freedom without corresponding responsibility (the moral vacuum of Muggeridge) encourages the individual homosexual to seek relief from pain and self-denial in relationships which are usually self-destructive and self-serving. (A fact that no one can deny.) A society which encourages them to "come out" and accept their homosexuality in an outward way will deny the individual the support and encour agement to understand his uniqueness at a higher level of consciousness.

Myth and history seem to point out that both the primitive and the saint understand the implication of the broken taboo. The primitive refuses the risk and remains whole on a lower level of consciousness. The sinner breaks the taboo, denies his guilt, seeking company (mutuality?) in his sinfulness and refuses consciousness and wholeness. The saint accepts the loneliness and guilt which accompanies the broken taboo. It is this consciousness that allows one to be whole and aware of the "Other." That state which we call holiness or sanctity, "Oh happy fault that merited so great a Redeemer."

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Vatican Reform

Notre Dame, Ind.

To the Editors: For your thoughtfulness in sending me your issue containing Father Peter Hebblethwaite's piece, "The Vatican," I am deeply grateful [Feb. 1]. Presumably you were motivated by the open letter I addressed to him occasioned by his criticism of Archbishop Benelli last year in the London *Observer Review*, to which he now refers in *Commonweal*.

I am very pleased to find Father Hebblethwaite's present article much more serious and responsible than was his diatribe a year ago. He has happily dropped the name-calling, gossipy format which he had assumed for a Sunday supplement of mass circulation—a style which, to my mind, ill-suited the capable editor of *The Month*, the much-admired publication of the English Jesuits. But these are personal comments already made via open letter and during a London visit last May with my brother in the Lord, Peter, whom I would have as friend and colleague in agreement or in debate, past, present, and future.

His new article on "The Vatican" raises substantial issues in a more serious vein: tension between authority and freedom; Pope Paul's dilemma "that he is criticized as bitterly on the right as on the left"; hesitancies in the ecumenical field; the need for an evaluation of the papacy without being accused of *lèse-majesté;* the courtly traditions of the Roman Curia which "is exposed to no outside checks on its competence or efficiency"; the enhanced importance of the Substitute Secretary of State, Archbishop Benelli; the future of the Synod which "has slumped to being an occasional, tolerated talking shop."

These lead to Hebblethwaite's emphatic conclusion: "no use blaming individuals where *the system is at fault.*" (My emphasis.) Here indeed is the primordial question: the system of which "The Vatican" is foundation and apex. (And which for Father Hebblethwaite means "compendiously the Vatican City State, the Holy See, the Pope, the Roman Curia.")

Last month I resigned from the Roman Curia after seven years of absorbing and eye-opening experience within "the system," as Secretary of the Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace. In my biased judgment my term of service within the Curia gave a moderate push toward implementing some of the rhetoric of Vatican II. But let others judge this presumption. My "higher authorities" have now granted me a sabbatical year during which I will address myself to several of the issues raised by Father Hebblethwaite, with special relation to the role of the Church in today's world.

I will be giving particular attention to the Roman Curia because it is indeed such a key element in "the system" which Father Hebblethwaite so

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strongly blames. I too am a critic. I believe that the Curia does need continuing reform: it is still too secretive and formalist; more inter-office coordination is required; internationalization is advancing well at the top, but not at the level of middle-management, and almost all 'foreigners' are Westerners; too many staff members are lifers —new men aged 35-45 should be regularly brought in from the local Churches to inject fresh concepts and pastoral experience, then return to their local communities after a few years; more laity and women are needed; curial staff should travel more; progressives, while advancing in number and position, are still outnumbered, especially among Apostolic Delegates and Nuncios, who are around-the-world extensions of the Curia.

These are all views I expressed in my open letter to Father Hebblethwaite, published in *The Tablet,* London, 13 April, 1973. I was then still a member of the Curia and received not one word of criticism or indication of displeasure from my "higher authorities." Actually I am surprised and disappointed that writers and thinkers, clergy and lay leaders, give so little attention to the reform of the Curia. It is such unknown territory, somehow off-limits mentally to Catholics otherwise well-versed in Church affairs—bishops included. And still it plays such a key role, despite *and* because of the *aggiornamento.*

Hebblethwaite says "bluntly: the Roman Curia is a court." To call it a court *tout court* is quite astonishing to this seven-year veteran of courtier intrigues. Certainly it still carries on too many of the trappings of a Renaissance princedom. But am I, an American philistine, from backwater bayous, an unbiased judge?

My main experience of the Curia is plain hard work by Christians who are very devoted to Christ, His Church and all His human family, and with many of the same frustrations of clearances, coordinations, channels and checks which I have found in the administrative offices of other large institutions. For the Catholic Church is, as Hebblethwaite says, truly a very large institution. What surprises me is that it is changing so fast. Not fast and far enough, unfortunately for Father Hebblethwaite. But sometimes this is due to local Church decisions and not to the Curia, which does suggest options and freedom on certain matters, for example, on the method of receiving the Eucharist, and on membership in national councils of churches.

I agree with Father Hebblethwaite's desire for some system through which policies of "the Vatican" can be more closely evaluated, questions asked and accountability be assured to the *awakening* People of God, as well as to God Himself. Meanwhile, he says, "intrepid journalists" must remedy the lack of such a system, and in doing so "put themselves in jeopardy."

As a curialist turned tepidly journalist, I timidly put myself in jeopardy by this pronouncement: Changing "the system" for the exercise of authority by and in "the Vatican" is directly related to changes within the whole fabric of the Church.

Because supposing that, as Father Hebblethwaite states, "the load placed on the shoulders of a monarchial Pope today has (indeed) become unbearable," to whom shall this burden of authority, in faith, love and service, be transferred? To the universal College of Bishops, perhaps as represented through the Synod? To episcopal conferences and ordinaries? To generalates and provinces of religious? To clergy and lay groups, and to pastoral councils at various levels? To combinations of these? To what degree are these bodies, beginning with national bishops' conferences, *as a whole* and one by one in a hundred countries, ready to take on more authority?

Most episcopal conferences are not yet ten years old, the Synod not yet eight. It seems to me that as they feel sufficiently mature as institutions and truly ready to exercise more authority, the Spirit will move them to ask for its exercise, with an insistence measured to their recognition of their serious responsibility. A responsibility of relieving the Successor of Peter of some of his centuries-old burden, and of not insisting on more than the new shoulders, personal and institutional, can bear, in faith and love and service. Believe it or not, several of my former colleagues and dear friends of the Roman Curia welcome moves in this direction.

However, I hate to disappoint the idealizers of the future Church. Continental, regional and national, provincial and diocesan, vicariate and interparish curias are burgeoning everywhere, often for the sake of the *aggiornamento.* Perhaps the Universal Church will after all need a curia of global scope to oversee and to coordinate all these bureaus. Why not locate it in Rome if the Chief Pastor and Head Overseer still resides there?

(MSGR.) JOSEPH GREMILLION

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THE WHITE HEADBAND IS FOR GRIEF

Thuy wears the headband in mourning for a dead father. She lives with her loving but ailing mother and seven brothers and sisters in a hut at the edge of Saigon.

Thuy (her name means sweet) is one among many.

Over 500,000 Vietnamese boys and girls have worn the mourning headband (the Khan Che) for a dead parent in the past decade.

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